1970 WORKERS VANGUARD, correspondence & documents

League for Socialist Action-YS/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière-LJS

*archival items listed for information, in other sections, or on file

1970

*1970-00	Waffle Manifesto "For an Independent Socialist Canada", "Ten Myths of foreign ownership-1971"; "Quebec & Socialists," Prospects for Independence-1972"
1970-01Jan12	Open the books! Cuba—11 years of achievement (file)
01Jan12	Problems facing NDP left revealed at Toronto meet
*1970-Jan	NDP brass screens socialist views (expulsion threats)
*1970-Jan	Quebec workers' ferment reflected at QFL parley (A.Y.)(file)
1970-01Jan	Cross Country with the NDP - Backs religion in schools
*1970-Jan	US Black party points the way toward liberation (on file)
*1970-Jan	Cuba – 11 years of achievement(on file)
1970-01Jan	The 60's New Rise of world revolution *(montage)*
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1970-01Jan26	Where is the NDP left wing going? (“Waffle”)
1970-01Jan26	Probe RCMP role on Queen's campus (Kingston)
1970-01Jan26	The English in Quebec – allies or enemies? (A. Beiner)
1970-01Jan26	We pay the price for US takeover
*1970-Jan26	'Get lost' Trudeau tells Ottawa antiwar activists
*1970-Jan26	Road to socialism debated (Americanization)

Workers Vanguard ends with No. 190
Labor Challenge starts Feb. 9, 1970
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Cuba - 11 years of achievement

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workers Vanguard

Vol. 14, No. 9 (189) January 12, 1970/15 Cents

Trudeau's inflation cure worse than the disease

Open The Books!

by Ross Dowson

Prime Minister Trudeau took us across the threshold into the Seventies proclaiming what he is going to do about inflation, on our behalf. Strange to say, while it is the working people who are already doing the suffering, Mr. Trudeau only promises us worse to come.

I won't lose my nerve, he said, if, as a result of his wages and prices policy there are further rises in unemployment, already over 6 percent of the labor force in some areas of the country. I will press on, he arrogantly declared.

Gone were all the usual words about social justice, the projections of revolutionary change; gone the appeals to the rising anticipations for a more meaningful and fuller life, and the talk about consensus and participatory democracy. It was an arrogant, brutal, calloused declaration of a capitalist-minded machine politician.

And this time Trudeau was not merely making with words. Firing notices for 4,000 to 6,000 public servants were being readied. This coming week notices that within three months their jobs will be terminated will be in the mail. Some may be relocated in other branches but the bulk will not.

One victim is 47 year old Charles Kent of Calgary. His services won't be required after January 31. He would have completed 25 years in the Department of Veterans Affairs in March. He lost both legs below the knee in the Second World War. Another is 55 year old Harry Weir, also with 25 years service. He lost one leg below the knee in the war. Unable to apply for superannuation for another five years, he is wondering how he and his family are going to live on his 160 dollar a month disability allowance in the meantime. Some 70 more National Film Board employees were being tossed out until the announcement that there would be a picket line circling parliament hill, delayed the process. And this is only a taste of what Trudeau is prepared to see develop from his anti-inflationary strategy across the country.

The working people who are bearing the brunt of the continuous inflation, unionists thrust into lengthy strikes against such powerful companies as Stelco and Inco, are being told to restrain themselves — or else have restraints, wage freeze legislation, more union-busting legislation, etc., etc., ruthlessly imposed upon them.

To be sure, Mr. Trudeau attempts to give his policy all the appearances of equity. The handful of key strategic corporations which set prices are also urged to practise restraint — with a difference.

(See page 2)

Wages below welfare rates, issue in Sask. hospital strike

by Paul Kent

Saskatchewan's Liberal government is attempting to use the developing sympathy for its miserably paid striking hospital workers to blackmail all Saskatchewan labor into accepting the same 6 percent ceiling that it has viciously imposed on the hospital workers.

On December 12 Premier Thatcher enforced his slave labor Essential Services Act against 180 non-professional hospital workers who had struck the Prince Albert Hospital almost a month earlier. Failure to comply would have meant fines for each striker of $1,000 a day and probable decertification of the union.

Still on strike since October 23 are 97 employees of St. Joseph's Hospital in Estevan. Hospital workers in Humboldt, North Battleford, Yorkton and Weyburn, all organized by the Canadian Union of Public Employees, have voted strike but set no deadline. Negotiations are continuing in other hospitals across the province. Eight units have been working without a contract for two years.

The wages paid to hospital workers are a recognized scandal. The bulk of the workers would be better off financially if they quit work and went on public welfare. Prince Albert Hospital wages average $299.29 a month.

No one denies the justice of their demands. At Prince Albert the hospital board and union had agreed on a contract. At Estevan a conciliation board came to unanimous understanding — but settlement was broken by the imposition by the Thatcher government of a 6 percent limit on what it was prepared to underwrite.

By the imposition of this artificial ceiling, the crisis it causes in hospital operations and the suffering it imposes on the hospital workers, the Liberal government hopes to further undermine and destroy the hospital plan that had been erected by the previous CCF-NDP government.

Should the local boards agree to any in-

(See page 8)

workers Vanguard #189 Jan. 1970

Problems facing NDP left revealed at Toronto meet

TORONTO — A public meeting here Dec. 11 set up the Toronto section of the NDP socialist caucus, known in party folklore as the Waffle caucus.

The 150 people in attendance elected an eight-member steering committee, charged with setting up a number of workshops on socialist theory and strategy; women's liberation; labor; constituency association action; tenants organizing; and campus action.

The meeting heard reports on the recent federal NDP convention, and discussed caucus perspectives for the future.

By a vote of about 60%-40%, they supported a resolution upholding the general principle that no one should be expelled from the NDP on the basis of his or her views. The motion arose from the case of four NDP left activsts facing expulsion in Richmond Hill for alleged membership in the LSA.

Mel Watkins, federal vice-president of the NDP and a member of the Waffle caucus' national housekeeping committee, reported on developments in the latter. Beginning Jan. 1, he said, Jackie Brown of Ottawa would be placed on staff to supervise planning for the national conference of the left projected for late this spring, as well as publication of the monthly *Waffle News*.

But the Toronto meeting revealed not so much the potential facing the socialist caucus as the problems — problems the caucus appears to be encountering across the country and will have to come to grips with very soon if it is to go forward.

The major question is the caucus' relation to the NDP. Many people in the meeting questioned the necessity to join the party. And when Danny Drache, a member of the national housekeeping committee, declared in answer to a question that "sooner or later, we will have to split, if the NDP becomes an obstacle," it was clear he was on the verge of considering the NDP an obstacle now. Even Mel Watkins nominated someone for the steering committee who declared she had no intention of joining the NDP.

Several people challenged this abstentionist outlook as unrealistic and suicidal for the left. Peter Horbatiuk was applauded when he defended the necessity of working in the party. Its orientation to the NDP, he emphasized, was the caucus' common denominator — the NDP would be the major arena of socialist action for a long time to come.

Another problem is the left's attitude to the trade unions. Some persons who nonetheless apparently consider themselves socialist, sweepingly dismissed the unions as "part of the Establishment" and "reactionary." In

Mel Watkins

contrast, André Bekerman, a member of the national left housekeeping committee, through a written presentation to the meeting, posed the building of a base in the labor movement as absolutely crucial to any left strategy in the party. Stan Bullock, editor of the *UE News* echoed Bekerman with the comment that you can't build socialism without the working class. But many people at the meeting obviously didn't agree that the trade unions represented the working class.

A third problem facing the Waffle caucus is the waffling of many of its supporters on the important question of defense of internal democracy in the NDP. The slim majority supporting the anti-expulsions resolution is indicative. Many leaders of the caucus including Mel Watkins voted in the negative — even though the motion as it was presented was framed in terms of the general principle that no one can be expelled from the party unless he is found guilty of disloyal *acts!* The discussion around the motion revealed a truly lamentable lack of understanding of this principle, long an axiom for socialists.

This meeting may not have been entirely representative of the constituency of the Waffle group within the NDP — it was advertised mainly on campus and through a rather limited mailing list — but it did highlight some important problems facing the new NDP left.

workers Vanguard #189 Jan 1970

Backs religion in the schools

In a move that is motivated mainly by electoral opportunism, the Ontario NDP provincial council has come out for an extension of full government aid to separate (Catholic) schools up to grade 13. At present only elementary grades in separate schools are fully subsidized.

This unprincipled decision, taken at the council's Dec. 13-14 meeting, endorsed a similar policy adopted earlier by members of the NDP caucus in the provincial legislature. This support for Catholic education is the only result so far of a special committee struck off by the 1968 party convention that was charged with arriving within a year at detailed recommendations for an updated educational policy! The committee has produced two publications, both of them devoted solely to separate schools policy.

The statement accepts that "a religious dimension is a necessary complement to the education of a full person" because "Roman Catholics insist that it is."

The statement provoked a lively debate. Of all the opponents, only Regula Modlich, a member of the provincial executive and also the "Waffle" (socialist) caucus steering committee, rejected the statement on the grounds that religion has no place in education. She also called for the NDP to demand elimination of the religious content presently in the public schools. Her position received considerable applause from the younger council members. The statement nonetheless carried by approximately a two-thirds majority.

Vietnam vigil

"That the New Democratic Party of Ontario support and participate in non-violent peace demonstrations." "That federal and provincial constituency associations be urged to give public support to the International Day of Protest on November 15 . . ." So read the 1968 Ontario and the 1969 federal convention decisions of the NDP.

In spite of these decisions the ONDP executive rejected the Vietnam Mobilization Committee's invitation to the party to participate in the IDPs. Instead they voted to do "their own thing," which was not unveiled until the December provincial council meeting and consisted of a vigil in front of Toronto city hall at 10 p.m. Christmas eve. Were they afraid someone might come and see them, one might ask? That might explain the total lack of leaflets, posters or other publicity. A letter sent to ridings arrived two days after the event.

cross country with the NDP

No surprise, then, that fewer then 100 persons, mostly hard core party supporters, showed up. Speeches were utterly devoid of any political content. Even former city controller Margaret Campbell, a Tory, never on record as opposing the war, found this framework acceptable enough to join Andrew Brewin, MP, in reading Bible excerpts about the birth of Christ.

Several comments are in order. Both in action and policy, the ONDP executive violated democratically arrived-at convention decisions. The party leadership still shuns mass antiwar actions, especially united front actions with broad political forces on particular issues. It is mainly its sectarian attitude toward other movements on the left not under its direct inspiration, that prevents it from rallying with the millions around the world to demonstrate opposition to U.S. aggression.

Seek end to ban

The expulsion from the NDP of Abie Weisfeld, a Young Socialist and executive member of the Ontario Young New Democrats, led the Hamilton West riding association to send in a resolution to the provincial council meeting Dec. 13-14 demanding that the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists no longer be considered as other political parties and their members therefore subject to expulsion from the NDP.

Since the resolution was debated and rejected before Weisfeld's appeal was heard, he was unable to present a defense of his membership as a Young Socialist within the OYND and NDP. His appeal was likewise rejected.

No evidence was presented of any disloyal acts by Weisfeld to justify his expulsion. In fact, immediately after the decision to expel him was confirmed by a vote, some of the very persons who had staged this underhanded maneuver rose to extol his excellent record as a hardworking, sincere supporter of the party. This grotesque hypocrisy was denounced by newly elected executive member Jack Elwert who warned the council it had just committed a serious error in expelling the young activist.

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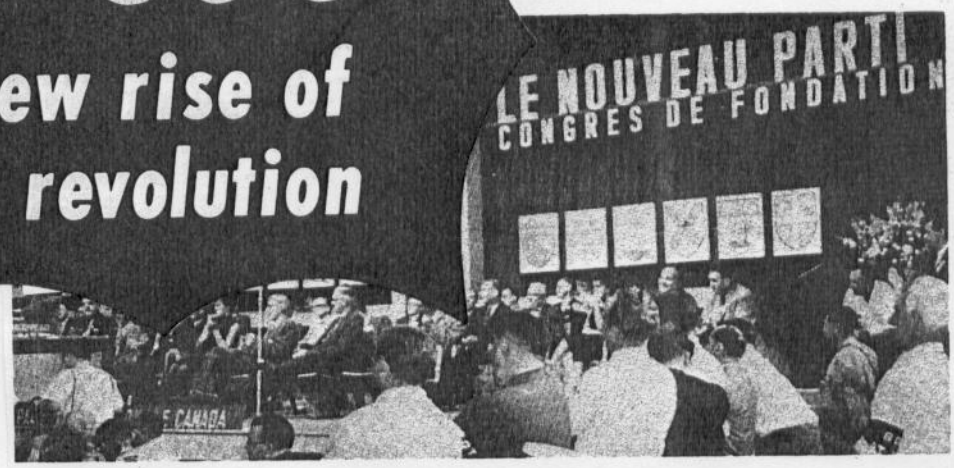
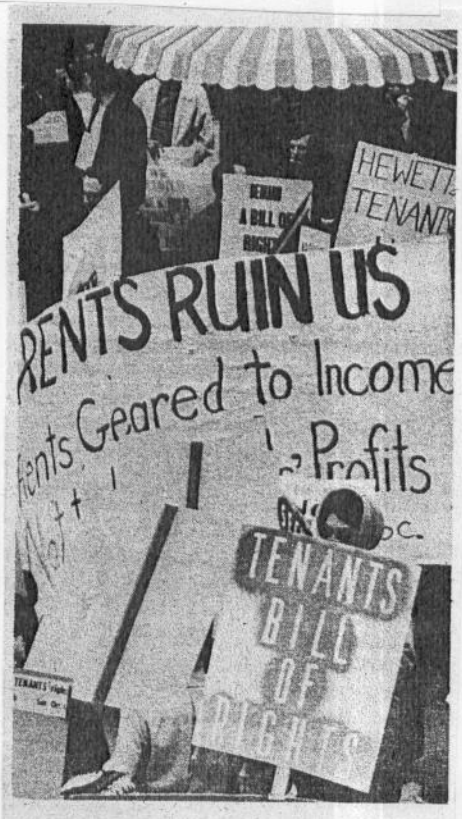
the 60's
the new rise of world revolution

Vietnam



NDP founding convention, 1961

France, 1968



TENANTS' MARCH

Czechoslovakia, 1968

The 60's – the new rise of world revolution

'A decade of turmoil, of revolutionary awakening, of the worldwide radicalization of youth'

by Joan Newbigging
(from Workers' Vanguard, January 1970

The 1960s — a decade of turmoil, of revolutionary awakening, of the worldwide radicalization of youth.

At the start of the decade, only one event gave any indication that the postwar era of virtually unchallenged capitalist supremacy was drawing to a close.

This event —the entry of the Fidelista rebel army into Havana in 1959 — was a dramatic symbol of what lay ahead. The 60s witnessed the rise of revolution in all three sectors of the world — the colonial and neo-colonial world, the workers' states and the advanced capitalist countries.

This decade has been dominated above all by the resolute struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. The years following the victory of the Cuban revolution saw a series of defeats in the underdeveloped world — the Dominican Republic, the Congo, Indonesia. The impact of the war in Vietnam has sharply reversed this trend. The example of the Vietnamese peasant armies holding back the powerful U.S. military machine has become an inspiration to the peoples of the "Third World."

By the end of the 60s, the Vietnamese struggle had spread to Laos, Cambodia, Thailand. A massive general strike had rocked Pakistan in 1969. The Indian sub-continent was characterized by profound instability.

In Latin America, despite setbacks like the murder of Che Guevara and the imprisonment of Hugo BIanco, the continuing appearance of guerrilla groups in many countries indicated the growing popularity of the Cuban revolution and its example. The mass student-worker demonstrations in Mexico in 1968 and the general strikes that engulfed Argentina in 1969 were important harbingers of a developing urban struggle.

Since the Six Days War of June '67, the Palestinian Liberation fighters have grown in strength and influence and have raised the perspective of socialist revolution in the Arab world. The 1960s have reaffirmed, beyond question, that it is the socialist revolution that is on the agenda for the Third World.

The early years of the decade saw the break-up of the Stalinist monolith through the Sino-Soviet dispute. Rising out of differing evaluations by the Mao and Khrushchev leaderships of the world situation and the problems facing the bureaucracies, the Sino-Soviet dispute has continued to intensify, leading almost to armed conflict in 1969.

In the mid years of the decade rivalries between various wings of the Chinese CP led to the outbreak of the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution, unleashing powerful forces across China and causing massive disruption before the Mao faction asserted its ascendency.

In the closing years of the decade, anti-bureaucratic movements rather than inter-bureaucratic rivalries became the major problem facing the Stalinized bureaucracies.

Most significant was undoubtedly the Czechoslovak struggle for proletarian democracy. This movement, which began with the demand for an end to censorship and proceeded to raise a whole series of far-reaching proposals for workers' democracy, received a severe setback in 1968 with the Soviet invasion.

Voices of dissent appeared in the other workers' states. Anti-bureaucratic oppositionists in the Soviet Union demonstrated solidarity with Czech socialist democracy, and some raised the cry 'Back to Lenin' — to a return to the revolutionary norms of the early Russian workers' state.

Year by year, the ruling classes in the advanced capitalist countries have seen their troubles mount. France in May-June 1968 experienced a revolutionary upsurge unparalleled since the postwar years; a general strike bringing industry and commerce throughout the country to a standstill and millions of workers and students into the streets; power within the grasp of the French working class — but not seized because of the reformist politics of the French Communist party. Out of the revolutionary vanguard emerged the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

Italy — shaken by labor struggles culminating in a general strike in November 1969, paralyzing the country.

Britain -— the decade of the Wilson administration, of the continuing crisis of social democracy *(the mass left reformist and labor parties – the BLP in Britain –ed)* . With a bankruptcy characteristic of all the old workers leaderships in Europe, Wilson sought to salvage British capitalism by slashing the living standards of working people.

The U.S. — the years of the anti-Vietnam war movement, the black struggle and the student revolt; millions of Americans, including growing numbers of GIs (*rank-and-file US frontline soldiers –ed.)* marched in the streets, calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The ouster of President Johnson. From the anti-segregation struggles in Birmingham in 1963 to the rebellions in Watts in '65, and Newark and Detroit in '67, the black revolt developed in size and militancy. The rebellion of youth which has engulfed campuses across the States, has become increasingly focused around the Young Socialist Alliance, the Trotskyist youth movement. In the 1960s the forces that will destroy American imperialism from within began to emerge.

Throughout the decade Canada has felt the impact of this international ferment. From the nuclear disarmament movement of the early 60s to the struggles of tenants, women's liberation activists and Canadian Indians today, Canada has experienced a growing tide of protest. The last four years have seen a sustained level of strike activity unparalleled since the postwar upsurge.

The developing militant national struggle of the Québécois has become the most explosive factor on the Canadian political scene. Mass strikes and student struggles continue to rock this nation.

For the English Canadian working class, the major event of the decade was the launching in 1961 of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. Launched with a liberal reformist program and under the firm control of the old CCF and trade union bureaucracies, the NDP has nonetheless year by year strengthened its roots in working class areas. At the 1969 Winnipeg convention a broad left-wing formation was launched within the NDP, injecting a healthy atmosphere of debate and challenge into the party.

This was the decade when Canada's youth made its voice heard. Through the anti-Vietnam war movement, high school protests and student power struggles, Canadian youth in growing numbers are registering their opposition to capitalism, the system that breeds wars, inequalities and alienation. The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the Canadian revolutionary socialist youth movement was founded and has since spread to more than a score of campuses across the country.

Besides the launching of the NDP, 1961 also saw the regrouping of the Trotskyist forces in Canada into the League for Socialist Action and in 1964, in Quebec, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Subsequent years have seen the considerable growth in size and influence of this movement through its consistent work in the anti-Vietnam war movement, the NDP, Quebec and the student milieu.

So went the 60s — a decade when radicalism flared up around the world; a decade of preparation — when revolutionaries were tested in struggle. A decade of growing crisis for the old leaderships, Stalinism and social democracy, and the growth of new leaderships. In 1963, the forces of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, reunited and renewed the collective work of coordinating revolutionary activity on an international scale.

Entering the 70s, we can look forward to a decade of revolutionary struggle — a decade when the socialist revolution is on the agenda on a world-wide scale.

workers Vanguard #190 Jan 1970

Must develop program

Where is NDP left wing going?

by Dick Fidler

What is happening in the NDP left caucus, often referred to as the Waffle group? It is now almost three months since the caucus emerged from the Winnipeg convention of the party, where it won the support of 35 percent of the delegates behind a manifesto which challenged the right wing Douglas-Lewis leadership all down the line.

At Winnipeg, ambitious plans were laid down to continue the caucus in the post-convention period, through election of a national leadership (the "housekeeping committee"), and a program of conferences, seminars, and the publication of documents.

There was a consensus among caucus supporters that Winnipeg was only the beginning, that in the period ahead the left would deepen its roots within the party, elaborate its analysis, develop a rounded program. There was optimistic talk of taking the leadership of the NDP in '71.

MELVILLE WATKINS

Since then, Waffle supporter groups have been formed in several provinces and cities. A number of seminars are being planned, including a major intervention at the University of Toronto on the issue of the Americanization of Canada, which organizers hope will attract upwards of 2,000 people. The *Waffle News* continues to publish in a monthly mimeographed format. A full-timer has been hired to coordinate plans for a conference in late spring to consolidate the caucus nationally.

These are impressive achievements. But all is not well with the Waffle grouping. In our last issue, reporting a Toronto meeting of the caucus, we noted some disturbing symptoms of problems developing in the caucus. These are problems, we said, which the caucus "appears to be encountering across the country and will have to come to grips with very soon if it is to go forward."

Isolation

Paradoxically, despite the impressive support for the caucus at Winnipeg, it remains largely isolated from the party's membership and power base, the trade unionist core of the NDP. In part, this derives from the caucus' origins — largely middle class and campus-centered. This gave it a ready base of support at the convention, with its disproportionate representation of the New Democratic Youth and the relative absence of trade union rank and file. But between conventions, the local riding associations constitute the continuing base of the party; and it is here that the Waffle supporters are quite weak.

While most Waffle supporters recognize the necessity of winning over a majority of the party to the left, many, it is clear, do not see this challenge in terms of what it is — the necessity to relate to the *working class base* of the NDP. Some even dismiss the unions in the mistaken belief that what is wrong with the party is its "domination" by "American" (international) unions.

As long as the caucus membership for the most part remains isolated from this working class constituency, it will appear to be on the fringes of the party, its seriousness constantly put in question.

Must not substitute

Similarly, the caucus has so far made little impact in the riding associations. It has been left to Mel Watkins and a few others to carry the ball for the left in the local NDP groups — and not as representatives of the caucus so much as individuals. Moreover, no attempt has been made to activate the riding associations; on the contrary, in a few areas caucus supporters have carried independent actions as if to substitute for the party. For instance, in Ottawa the left caucus held a demonstration against the appearance of George Ball, former U.S. undersecretary of State, before a commons committee. In Alberta, there is talk of publishing an independent caucus newsletter when the party itself has no public organ. Yet the caucus should see its main task as one of challenging the *party* to hold such demonstrations, and to put the highest priority on publishing a party press that is open to all viewpoints in the NDP. The caucus must be seen as a mobilizing force within the party, not a substitute for it.

Also disturbing is a certain sectarianism and élitist attitude among some Waffle supporters, including many top leaders of the caucus, toward some viewpoints in the NDP left, and a contrasting tolerance toward elements outside the NDP and even hostile to it. At the Toronto Waffle meeting last month, there was a notable unwillingness on the part of some Waffle spokesmen to insist on the necessity for caucus participants to join and build the NDP. Some of these same spokesmen voted against a motion affirming the principle that no one should be expelled from the NDP on the basis of his or her views.

What's behind these danger signs, which bode no good for the long-term future of the caucus?

Meaning of NDP

At stake here is nothing less than the orientation of the left toward the NDP itself. The left caucus is essentially a coalition of diverse elements within the party. The original signers of the Independent Socialist Canada manifesto were themselves a somewhat mixed bag of new leftists, radical academic liberals, hardcore social democrats, a few revolutionary socialists and one or two people who have left the Communist party, but still carry some of its baggage, including anti-Trotskyism. Their common denominator was a desire to work for socialism within the NDP. But if they differed in their views of

→p. 2

CHALLENGE. Socialists in NDP must propel party into active participation in antiwar movement, which plays important role in educating masses of Canadians about nature of imperialism.

socialism, it is no less true that they lacked a common assessment of the NDP.

One view with considerable currency in the Waffle grouping was presented by Karl Jaffary, newly elected Toronto alderman, NDP federal vice-president and a signer of the manifesto, when he spoke at the LSA/YS Socialist Educational weekend early this month. According to him, there is a mass movement developing outside the NDP and in opposition to it, among citizens committees, tenants, residents associations — all those phenomena generally lumped together under the term "extraparliamentary opposition." These forces, having rejected the NDP as too "political" and in any case peripheral to their struggles, will eventually come together in a new "people's" movement of which the present NDP will be only a constituent part, he said.

Reject NDP?

Such a view completely misses the real significance and potential of the NDP. The NDP is not some transitory phenomenon, here today gone tomorrow. As the party of organized labor — a *class* party — it represents the main political expression of the present working class movement in this country.

True, its program is liberal-reformist, but in this it largely reflects the present level of consciousness of the mass of workers. There is no mass movement on its way out of the party to the left, toward revolutionary socialism.

In fact, most Canadian workers have yet to go through an experience with the NDP; the majority still vote for capitalist candidates. This includes many of those community activists who aren't attracted to the NDP now because it appears to offer nothing to them; they aren't rejecting the party from the left — if so, they would be forming another party, whereas at present they reject "politics." Any profound radicalization in the working class is certain to pass through the NDP, for a whole period to come.

Of course a growing number of youth are coming to recognize that the NDP is not an adequate vehicle to bring about socialism. We will need a mass revolutionary party; and the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière sees itself as the forerunner of such a party. But there is no contradiction for a revolutionary socialist to work within the NDP; on the contrary, it is precisely because the LSA has a rounded appreciation of the NDP as the political expression of the working class that we who represent the future of the class firmly identify ourselves with the party despite its liberal-reformist program and leadership. It is through the struggle to win the NDP to socialism that the cadres of the future mass revolutionary party are being built.

Need transitional programs

Given this assessment of the NDP, it is clear that socialists must be prepared for long-term patient work within the party. The key need now for the broad left is to go beyond defining our objectives ("socialist Canada," "public ownership," "workers' control") to develop a program of transitional demands for the party which can bridge the gap between the present level of consciousness of the mass of politicized workers and bring them to understand the necessity for socialism. This means beginning the work of drafting a substantial statement of our view of strategy for the trade union movement. (*Canadian Dimension*, which is now in effect the "theoretical" journal of the Waffle caucus, has carried several articles on the unions, but has never formulated a developed *program* for the labor movement.)

It also means opening up a no-holds-barred discussion within the caucus on its orientation to the NDP: how it sees its relation to the party, and (in the most general sense) how it projects the development of working class politics in this country. Unless the Wafflers adopt a clearcut strategy of firmly identifying with the party, concerned with building the party, and propelling it into action rather than attempting to substitute for it, the caucus will drift in the shoals of opportunist adventures. Extra-parliamentary action? As a first step the caucus should do everything in its power to commit the party membership to building the anti-Vietnam war movement in line with convention decisions and (need it be added?) our international responsibilities as socialists and anti-imperialists.

Internal democracy

Finally, the discussion which is now due in the left must be completely open to all supporters of the Waffle grouping and the NDP. Internal democracy — which should be a norm of the workers' movement — must be strictly adhered to. The left must unite in defense of any and all party members victimized by the right wing for their views.

The challenge before socialists in the NDP is a great one — nothing more, nothing less than to win leadership of the working class in Canada. We must aim to sink deep roots in the NDP, to reach fresh uncorrupted forces, and win them to a fighting socialist program. The future of socialism in this country depends on how successfully we do that.

U of T students demand ban on war recruiters

STUDENTS CONFRONT BISSELL. Students presented University of Toronto president Claude Bissell (left) with an anti-personnel fragmentation bomb from Vietnam. Bomb was made by Honeywell Corp. which is using U of T facilities to recruit scientists. Committee to End the War activists led by Zane Boyd (right) demanded Bissell bar company from campus. Bissell refused, and instead tossed bomb in the air and joked about his days in the infantry.

Where is the NDP left wing going?

By Dick Fidler

(from Workers' Vanguard, January 1970)

What is happening in the NDP left caucus, often referred to as the Waffle group? It is now almost three months since the caucus emerged from the Winnipeg convention of the party, where it won the support of 35 percent of the delegates behind a manifesto which challenged the right wing Douglas-Lewis leadership all down the line.

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These are impressive achievements. But all is not well with the Waffle grouping. In our last issue, reporting a Toronto meeting of the caucus, we noted some disturbing symptoms of problems developing in the caucus. These are problems, we said, which the caucus "appears to be encountering across the country and will have to come to grips with very soon if it is to go forward."

Isolation

Paradoxically, despite the impressive support for the caucus at Winnipeg, it remains largely isolated from the party's membership and power base, the trade unionist core of the NDP. In part, this derives from the caucus' origins — largely middle class and campus-centered. This gave it a ready base of support at the convention, with its disproportionate representation of the New Democratic Youth and the relative absence of trade union rank and file. But between conventions, the local riding associations constitute the continuing base of the party; and it is here that the Waffle supporters are quite weak.

While most Waffle supporters recognize the necessity of winning over a majority of the party to the left, many, it is clear, do not see this challenge in terms of what it is — the necessity to relate to the **working class base** of the NDP. Some even dismiss the unions

in the mistaken belief that what is wrong with the party is its "domination" by "American" (international) unions.

As long as the caucus membership for the most part remains isolated from this working class constituency, it will appear to be on the fringes of the party, its seriousness constantly put in question.

Must not substitute

Similarly, the caucus has so far made little impact in the riding associations. It has been left to Mel Watkins and a few others to carry the ball for the left in the local NDP groups — and not as representatives of the caucus so much as individuals. Moreover, no attempt has been made to activate the riding associations; on the contrary, in a few areas caucus supporters have carried independent actions as if to substitute for the party. For instance, in Ottawa the left caucus held a demonstration against the appearance of George Ball, former U.S. undersecretary of State, before a commons committee. In Alberta, there is talk of publishing an independent caucus newsletter when the party itself has no public organ. Yet the caucus should see its main task as one of challenging **the party** to hold such demonstrations, and to put the highest priority on publishing a party press that is open to all viewpoints in the NDP. The caucus must be seen as a mobilizing force within the party, not a substitute for it.

Also disturbing is a certain sectarianism and elitist attitude among some Waffle supporters, including many top leaders of the caucus, toward some viewpoints in the NDP left, and a contrasting tolerance toward elements outside the NDP and even hostile to it. At the Toronto Waffle meeting last month, there was a notable unwillingness on the part of some Waffle spokesmen to insist on the necessity for caucus participants to join and build the NDP. Some of these same spokesmen voted against a motion affirming the principle that no one should be expelled from the NDP on the basis of his or her views.

What's behind these danger signs, which bode no good for the long-term future of the caucus?

Meaning of NDP

At stake here is nothing less than the orientation of the left toward the NDP itself. The left caucus is essentially a coalition of diverse elements within the party. The original signers of the “Independent Socialist Canada” manifesto were themselves a somewhat mixed bag of new leftists, radical academic liberals, hardcore social democrats, a few revolutionary socialists and one or two people who have left the Communist party, but still carry some of its baggage, including anti-Trotskyism. Their common denominator was a desire to work for socialism within the NDP. But if they differed in their views of socialism, it is no less true that they lacked a common assessment of the NDP.

One view with considerable currency in the Waffle grouping was presented by Karl Jaffary, newly elected Toronto alderman, NDP federal vice-president and a signer of

the (Waffle) manifesto, when he spoke at the LSA/YS Socialist Educational weekend early this month. According to him, there is a mass movement developing outside the NDP and in opposition to it, among citizens' committees, tenants, residents associations — all those phenomena generally lumped together under the term "extra-parliamentary opposition." These forces, having rejected the NDP as too "political" and in any case peripheral to their struggles, will eventually come together in a new "people's" movement of which the present NDP will be only a constituent part, he said.

Reject NDP?

Such a view completely misses the real significance and potential of the NDP. The NDP is not some transitory phenomenon, here today gone tomorrow. As the party of organized labor —- **a class party** — it represents the main political expression of the present working class movement in this country.

True, its program is liberal-reformist, but in this it largely reflects the present level of consciousness of the mass of workers. There is no mass movement on its way out of the party to the left, toward revolutionary socialism.

In fact, most Canadian workers have yet to go through an experience with the NDP; the majority still vote for capitalist candidates. This includes many of those community activists who aren't attracted to the NDP now because it appears to offer nothing to them; they aren't rejecting the party from the left — if so, they would be forming another party, whereas at present they reject "politics." Any profound radicalization in the working class is certain to pass through the NDP, for a whole period to come.

Of course a growing number of youth are coming to recognize that the NDP is not an adequate vehicle to bring about socialism. We will need a mass revolutionary party; and the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière sees itself as the forerunner of such a party. But there is no contradiction for a revolutionary socialist to work within the NDP; on the contrary, it is precisely because the LSA has a rounded appreciation of the NDP as the political expression of the working class that we who represent the future of the class firmly identify ourselves with the party despite its liberal-reformist program and leadership. It is through the struggle to win the NDP to socialism that the cadres of the future mass revolutionary party are being built.

Need transitional programs

Given this assessment of the NDP, it is clear that socialists must be prepared for long-term patient work within the party. The key need now for the broad left is to go beyond defining our objectives ("socialist Canada," "public ownership," "workers' control") to develop a program of transitional demands for the party which can bridge the gap between the present level of consciousness of the mass of politicized workers and bring them to understand the necessity for socialism. This means beginning the work of drafting a substantial statement of our view of strategy for the trade union movement. (*Canadian Dimension,* which is now in effect the "theoretical" journal of the

Waffle caucus, has carried several articles on the unions, but has never formulated a developed **program** for the labor movement.)

It also means opening up a no-holds-barred discussion within the caucus on its orientation to the NDP: how it sees its relation to the party, and (in the most general sense) how it projects the development of working class politics in this country. Unless the Wafflers adopt a clear-cut strategy of firmly identifying with the party, concerned with building the party, and propelling it into action rather than attempting to substitute for it, the caucus will drift in the shoals of opportunist adventures. Extra-parliamentary action? As a first step the caucus should do everything in its power to commit the party membership to building the anti-Vietnam war movement in line with convention decisions and (need it be added?) our international responsibilities as socialists and anti-imperialists.

Internal democracy

Finally, the discussion which is how due in the left must be completely open to all supporters of the Waffle grouping and the NDP. Internal democracy — which should be a norm of the workers' movement — must be strictly adhered to. The left must unite in defense of any and all party members victimized by the right wing for their views.

The challenge before socialists in the NDP is a great one — nothing more, nothing less, than to win leadership of the working class in Canada. We must aim to sink deep roots in the NDP, to reach fresh uncorrupted forces, and win them to a fighting socialist program. The future of socialism in this country depends on how successfully we do that.

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Probe RCMP role on Queen's campus

Should the RCMP have the right to come on campus to investigate students' political beliefs?

That is the issue which is being debated this month in two weeks of hearings before 450 students, faculty and interested public at Queen's University, Kingston.

Chuck Edwards, a PhD student in Chemical Engineering has charged that he was pressured to leave his position in the department because of his political activities.

Edwards, a member of a campus radical group, the Free Speech Movement, had already had run-ins with the Queen's administration when he campaigned successfully for president of the Alma Mater (graduate) Society in 1968. He had advocated student unions be set up in each course to negotiate on an equal basis with the teaching faculty committees on how the courses should be taught to meet the preference of the students.

He was later involved in discussions with university officials during a campaign against student housing problems.

Last fall, Edwards began to hear rumors that the RCMP had been asking questions about him in the department. (Dr. Clarke, chairman of the department, told the Kingston "underground" paper *This Paper Belongs to the People* that he had indeed been asked by an RCMP officer about Edwards, in the course of an inquiry into another student's "loyalty," and that he had readily agreed to talk to the police.)

When Edwards visited his doctoral supervisor Dr. Henry Becker on Nov. 8 for a regular progress report, Becker launched into an attack on Edwards' political activities which he said were "not welcome." He gave him a choice of dropping these activities or clearing his desk by the end of the term. When Edwards later agreed to drop his research with Becker, the latter further demanded he change his registration to another department and give the fellowship money he had received from Chemcell Corp. back to the university. Becker backed up his demands with the threat of expulsion.

The Free Speech Movement demanded, and got, a hearing for Edwards before a special committee of the university senate. Close to 30 witnesses are to be called, including Queen's principal John J. Deutsch, and an RCMP officer from Ottawa.

Edwards' lawyer, Don Kuyek, contends that one explanation for the department's precipitate actions is its increasing dependence on outside sources of research funds. With less money becoming available from government agencies for expanding research programs, the department must rely on corporate sources of funding which might well be jeopardized by the presence of an avowed Marxist in the department, particularly one who was the subject of an RCMP investigation.

The FSM is correctly demanding that RCMP-secret police activities be prohibited on campus. In a letter to Dr. Deutsch, they demand that no information whatsoever should be released to the RCMP or anyone else without the formal permission of the person involved. Nor should information regarding a person's political activities be sought or be permitted by the university to have any effect on his standing in the academic community.

The committee must report back to the senate by Jan. 22. As we went to press, the unprecedented public hearings were continuing.

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Allies or enemies?

The English in Quebec

by Alain Beiner

The following article, which appears in the January issue of La Lutte Ouvrière, *the Quebec revolutionary socialist newspaper, is of particular interest to readers in English Canada as an example of how Québécois socialists explain the question of English Canadian workers to French Canadian radicals.*

* * * *

No serious supporter of the struggle for the national liberation of Quebec can deny or even minimize the strategic importance of the English-speaking community in Montreal. The Quebec metropolis, which will be the epicenter of any popular upsurge of a national character, is 40 percent English-speaking — the majority of them workers, students and housewives.

The danger of leaving 40 percent of the population of Montreal to the services of Anglo-American imperialism and its Quebec agents is evident. Failure to understand this reality and the tasks that necessarily flow from it would constitute not only an important barrier to victory, but also a certain guarantee of a terrible blood-bath with the outbreak of the Quebec revolution.

There are some on the left who do not understand this fact. Stanley Gray, for example, said when he was fired by McGill University, that "The English show a great deal of repression; they are going completely to the right. . . It has become a waste of time to get involved in the English-speaking milieu." (*Montreal Star,* Aug. 16.)
Gray, who is one of the principal leaders of the Front de Libération Populaire [Popular Liberation Front (FLP)], has spoken publicly many times as an official spokesman for the FLP. We are entitled to know if the FLP shares his opinion of the English. All the more since *La Masse,* the FLP's paper, last Sept. 8 published a cartoon attacking the English with the following slogan: "Tu veux une école anglaise? — Ben 'câlisse' ton camp en Ontario!" (Freely: "You want an English school? Get the hell out to Ontario!")

On what side do the English speaking workers stand? Or, to pose the question more generally, how do we judge if someone is objectively an ally or an opponent of the Quebec struggle? One thinks first of the individual's mother tongue. But you only have to mention the names of Bertrand, Trudeau, Rémi Paul, Lesage and Drapeau to disprove that line of reasoning.

Does such a criterion exist? Even if there is no infallible social criterion to apply to each individual, Marxism provides us with an analysis of contemporary society which has proven itself time and again.

This theory — the class analysis — sees society divided into hostile social classes according to the particular economic interests of the different sections of the population and according to their particular places in the system of production. English workers are part of the same social class as French workers.

It is true that the English-speaking worker does not suffer the same oppression as his French-speaking brother, who has to bear the burden of national exploitation. But it is also true that this national oppression serves primarily to enrich the bourgeoisie, which exploits all the workers, whatever their language, and which utilizes the language division between workers to weaken all of them.

The English-speaking worker is just the same a victim of this situation; if he wishes to free himself of his oppression, he is obliged to unite with the French worker in united struggle against the common enemy — the native and foreign bosses.

Stanley Gray

English-speaking workers are privileged in relation to the French, and some of them have chauvinist prejudices. But their desire to defend and improve their own lot impels them to struggle against the bosses. To succeed in this struggle, they must act side by side with their French-speaking brothers. This is why for a long time the trade unions have united the workers of the two languages and carried struggles that are in the interests of all workers — for better working conditions, better wages, etc.

To be sure, to cement this unity it is necessary for the English worker to understand and support the national demands of the French workers, including the demand for unilingualism. But how can he be convinced?

The "theory of confrontation" followed by the FLP is a good example of how not to do this. This theory has never worked and never will work. It serves no purpose to threaten "les Anglais" as did the cartoon published by the FLP. The slogan, "Speak French or Get Out," stuck on lamp-posts in the English districts, doesn't help *convince* English-speaking Québécois, either.

To explain patiently to the English worker (in English, if necessary) how his support for the struggle for French unilingualism is *in his own interests* requires much more work than shouting "Speak French or Get Out!" but is a thousand times more effective. No one is convinced by threats or challenges, least of all the worker. The working masses, both English and French, will change their views and act only when they are convinced by political explanation and by their own experiences.

Let's not forget that already a certain number of English in Quebec support the national struggle. Stanley Gray is one, and there are many others. Some English participated in every major nationalist demonstration last year. On the English campuses of Quebec, there are groups working in this way, notably the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

In this process of winning the English population over, the call for a labor party — that is, a political arm of the Quebec working class — is essential. Such a party, based on the unions, could offer all the Quebec workers a class alternative, and could combine in concrete, programmatic terms the demands that the English workers understand and share with the French community, along with national demands. In this manner, the English worker sees that his interests are organically linked to the interests of his French brothers and to the struggle for a free Quebec.

We must not ignore this question. All attempts of the bourgeoisie to divide the Quebec working class must be fought. What is involved, in effect, is the understanding that only this class can lead the victorious struggle for a Quebec which is French, free and socialist.

We pay the price for U.S. Takeover

by Ross Dowson
from Workers' Vanguard, January 1970

The federal government commission's 1968 report on foreign ownership in Canada revealed some startling facts on U.S. takeovers of Canadian industrial and financial institutions. But in reality it only lifted the curtain on what is an ongoing, vastly accelerating process.

The report, called the Watkins report after its chairman Melville Watkins, found widespread foreign (largely U.S.) control of Canadian industry, including 46 percent of manufacturing (97 percent of auto production), 74 percent of petroleum and natural gas, and 59 percent of mining and smelting. The 87 foreign takeovers of Canadian companies in J964 was the high point in the process.

But 1968, according to figures now tabled by Consumers Affairs Minister Basford, saw 155 takeovers, with the uncompleted data for 1969 already standing at 103.

Almost 3,000 companies have neglected with impunity to disclose their financial statements or reports on their operations and directors as required under the Canada Corporations Act. Thus the full extent of the U.S. takeover is not fully known. But the effects are becoming more and more clear — and ominous — for the Canadian working class.

Take the case of the U.S. owned conglomerate White Consolidated Industries. Five months ago "for reasons of economy" it decided to close down its plant in London, the former Kelvinator of Canada plant, that had employed 600 workers. This phasing out of certain plants picked up by financial speculators in the process of building up conglomerates, without regard to how they may individually meet their profit demands or their final operational concepts, is to be seen in every area of Ontario.

Of the last 380 to be dropped from Kelvinator, only 14 had a skilled trade. One hundred of them had been with the company more than 20 years. Two months after the shutdown a survey showed that of the 237 who replied to a questionnaire 49 percent were still out of work. Of those who had found jobs elsewhere 51 percent had had to take less pay than their Kelvinator job.

Or take the case of the phenomenally rich potash workings in Saskatchewan. For the most part these fields have been taken over by giant U.S. chemical corporations. Shipments to the U.S. last year worth 60 million dollars brought the price there down to $12 a ton from the $20 level of about three years ago. The U.S. Tariff Commission interceded with the declaration that Saskatchewan potash is being dumped on the U.S. market, by the very corporations which control U.S. potash production. Saskatchewan's Liberal government responded by establishing a fixed price of $18.75 (U.S.) per ton — thus doing for the potash companies what they themselves would have been prevented by law from doing.

To bolster up this fixed price the government ordered a cutback in production — the Canadian operations have been placed on an average of 55 percent of capacity. So Canadian farmers working the land on top of the Saskatchewan deposits, to fertilize it with potash, will pay a price artificially pegged to serve U.S. capitalist interests while half of the productive capacity of the mines is wasted and there are drastic staff layoffs.

Prime Minister Trudeau has been talking for sometime now of recognizing China and opening up trade with her peoples, but it is not at all serious, for his government has abided by Washington's 19-year-old ban on all forms of American trade with China. There is no doubt whatsoever that Ottawa's China policy is made not in Canada but in U.S.A. U.S. dominated industries on Canadian soil which control 94 percent of the auto and truck industry and at least 46 percent of all Canadian manufacturing are governed, not by Canadian law, but by laws framed in Washington. Ottawa has accepted this situation and in fact actually enforces Washington's regulations.

That is why, now that the Nixon administration appears to be adopting a softer line on China, there was so much interest here in Washington's December 19 statement. Was there to be any change in Canada's trade relations with China?

Washington told Canada that goods which it decides have a military or strategic importance cannot enter into Canadian trade with China. Washington told Canada that the cotter pin clause persists. Export or re-export of U.S. origin goods is banned — a Canadian built truck containing a cotter pin manufactured in the U.S. is barred from sale to China.

Canadian big business and its Liberal and Tory political servants suffer this humiliation as junior partners in the exploitation of this country's resources, and as its satellite on the world political arena, in the conviction that their fate as a class is in the hands of the American capitalist class. They are confident that the overhead costs can be thrust on the backs of the working people. The growing forces in the NDP that have rallied around the statement *For an Independent Socialist Canada* have correctly affirmed that there can be no independent sovereign Canada other than through a socialist Canada.

But they have not yet spelled out a program to concretize this generalization in any meaningful way, that can waken the NDP and mobilize new forces in the struggle for socialism. What have we to say to the former Kelvinator workers in London and those who are yet to face the same problem? Why don't we launch a drive to get the Ontario government to allocate funds from its industrial opportunity program or the federal government to allocate funds from its regional development scheme to put the plant back into operation and if necessary to retool it for the production of marketable goods? Why not demand that it be placed under the control of the workers on the job?

And what about the Prairie farmers already in difficulties due to the accumulation of the wheat crop and who will be having to pay an exorbitant price for fertilizer due to the international potash price cartel instituted by the Thatcher government? Why don't we

launch a many sided campaign to smash the fixed price, initiate a legal assault under the anti-combines legislation, mobilize the miners to end the limits placed on production, and force the selling of the potash through the farmers' coops at cost.

Such struggles would build the forces necessary to compel U.S. owned industries to accept all orders from the workers states and the Third World and so provide jobs for Canadian workers or be taken over and placed under public ownership.